

teries spread throughout the country. Almost 50,000 persons are buried at these sites, individuals who served Indonesia without being designated as regular heroes, including those who lost their lives in the fight against secessionist movements or during the annexation of East Timor.

The medium by which the cult surrounding the heroes is transported and conveyed is and was the festival. New theories, which the author however does not go into, subdivide this phenomenon into "festival" ("Fest") and "celebration" ("Feier"). "Festival" corresponds to spontaneity, ecstasy, the overstepping of norms and the unconstrained formation of identity, while "celebration" evokes associations of order, contemplation, stage management and the conveyance of significance organized from above; this is designed to promote ideas, values and world pictures which boost and legitimize the existing order. The festivals of the Indonesian cult of the hero are consequently typical "celebrations". While the intention and implementation are described vividly and in detail, the question remains open whether these have been successful in moulding the cultural memory of the people of Indonesia, whether the cult of the hero indeed releases forces which promote a sense of national identity. This is but a minor qualification and does not detract from the many insights contained in Schreiner's work: for the first time a central aspect of contemporary Indonesian history has been examined in profound detail; moreover, the author also presents comparative material for studies on the "nation building" of other post-colonial states and describes in exemplary fashion the paths of formation of cultural memory.

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MICHAEL R.J. VATIKIOTIS, *Indonesian Politics under Suharto: Order, Development and Pressure for Change*. (Politics in Asia Series). London: Routledge, 1993. XIX, 220 pp., £ 27.50. ISBN 0-415-08280-3

RAINER ROHDEWOHL, *Public Administration in Indonesia*. Melbourne: Montech Pty Ltd., 1995. X, 179 pp., ISBN 0-732-60588-1

Of the two volumes under review, the one by Vatikiotis is by far the better known. Good sales have enabled a second updated edition. However, the original volume under review here is still useful. Vatikiotis, former *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent in Jakarta, uses his first hand knowledge to produce a book that can be read by both the specialist as well as the general reader. The first four chapters (*Suharto, Order and development, Two functions, one purpose: the Indonesian army in politics, New*

Order society) deal essentially with the current characteristics of the New Order regime, from its foundation to its present form, more or less a personal fiefdom of Suharto. It is quite clear that Suharto comes closest to a Javanese monarch since the 18th century. The next four chapters (*Towards an Islamic identity?*, *Succession stalks Suharto*, *Dragon apparent or rogue tiger?* *Democracy on hold*) deal with more contemporary themes. Having read both the first and the second updated edition, I can safely say that one need not rush out to buy the new edition if the current volume is at hand. The only addition to the new edition is an update on the succession debate, which, not surprisingly, is still a huge question mark, given that Suharto has never mentioned the issue in public. Suharto will have to be around for quite a few years yet, not least to protect the extensive business holdings and rent-seeking behaviour of his children (pp. 5-6, 44-45). The only uncertainty is the health of the president. Recent reports suggest that the children are worried enough about their father's health to have moved into the inner circle of Golkar, the ruling party, presumably to ensure that Suharto's eventual successor will be friendly and obliging. One area not covered in this volume is the rise of Sukarno's daughter, Megalawi Sukarnoputri, whose disputed leadership of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) has ensured her a high profile and the wrath of ABRI and Suharto.

Public Administration in Indonesia, on the other hand, deals with a subject not normally picked on by Indonesianists: the Indonesian civil service. In this comprehensive work, Rohdewohld provides a succinct account of how bureaucracy in Indonesia works, including rich data on all aspects of the Indonesian civil service rarely found in a single volume. Ch. I deals with the socio-political environment of public administration. Ch. II describes functions, structures and process of public administration while ch. III looks at it from the sub-national level. A detailed account of the structure, recruitment, remuneration, conditions of service, training and culture of the civil service can be found in ch. IV, while ch. V looks at the budgetary procedures. The final ch., VI, deals with the transformation and reform of the public service. The only criticism of this work is that not enough emphasis is placed on the interaction between ABRI officers and the civil servants. After all, many senior ABRI officers are concurrently both military and civil officers, and it is unclear to this reader how this situation is managed at the top of the civil service or by the ruling political elite. In fact, there is no mention of the *Dwi-fungsi* principle as it relates to public administration, an important omission. This volume is best seen as a comprehensive manual on public administration in Indonesia to be read in conjunction with Vatikiotis' volume or any other good book on the Suharto regime.

James Chin